DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 082 917 RC 007 391

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TITLE	Latino Life and Social Needs: A Detroit Survey for the Latin American Secretariat of the Archdiocese of Detroit.
INSTITUTION	Archdiocese of Detroit, Mich.; New Detroit, Inc., Mich.
PUB DATE	73
NOTE	102p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	*Demography; Employment; Health; Housing; Income; Language Ability; *Migrants; *Needs; *Spanish Speaking; *Vocational Adjustment; Youth Problems
IDENTIFIERS	*Detroit; Michigan

ABSTRACT

During 1972, a study was conducted for the Latin American Secretariat, Archdiocese of Detroit on the social service needs of the Latino population in the Detroit area. The study included surveys of the (1) services available to Chicano migrant laborers, especially "dropouts from the migrant stream"; and (2) agencies providing (or not providing) services, rather than a study of the social conditions and needs of Latino people. Data were collected through a home interview survey, an agency survey, and the 1970 United States Census. The purpose of the home interview survey was to obtain information from Latino people on their knowledge of social service programs, their use of such programs, and their need for social services. Data were obtained from 177 households in the Detroit area. In the agency survey, the data pertained to the number of Latino clients, physical accessibility of service, provisions for the Spanish speaking, extent of agency orientation to the community, and number and functions of Latino employees. Findings of the home survey are reported in the paper. Topics include demographic data, language abilities and problems, migrant stream dropouts, income status, problems of children and youth, employment and work adjustment, health and health care patterns, and views on housing. (NQ)

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Latino Life And Social Needs:

A Detroit Survey

FOR

THE LATIN AMERICAN SECRETARIAT

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DETROIT

CO-SPONSORED BY:

NEW DETROIT, INCORPORATED

BY

Charles N. Lebeaux

And

Gumecindo Salas

1973

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Preface

In January 1972 the senior investigator in this study (Lebeaux) was approached by Mr. Israel Leyton, Director of the Latin American Secretariat of the Archdiocese of Detroit, regarding the possibility of conducting a study for the Secretariat on the social service needs of the Latino population in the Detroit area. The study was desired in order to have a factual base for the development of social services for the Latino community and for requests for the funding of such services.

The idea as originally proposed by the Secretariat (a) included a survey of the services available to Chicano migrant laborers in the rural districts of the Diocese north and south of Detroit as well as in Detroit proper, and (b) was to focus on the agencies providing (or not providing) services, rather than on the social conditions of the Latino people and their needs as they themselves perceived them. The model of the study was to be a survey recently conducted in the Grand Rapids area along these lines.[1]

In early discussions with Mr. Leyton the senior author recommended some alterations in the general study objectives: (a) due to limited funding resources the study should be restricted to the Detroit Latino population, but particular attention would be given to "drop outs from the migrant stream" who were seen as a major group needing services;

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1. Clingman, Flynn, Kazmerski, McKinney, Knaggs, Limberg, Lore, Lutzka, Ressler, Vogel, A Study of Services for Migrant Farm Laborers, A Research Report for the Human Relations Commission of the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

(b) a home interview survey should be included to obtain the views and life conditions of the people, as well as from the agencies; and, (c) relevant 1970 Census data on the Spanish-speaking population should be made accessible.

These reformulations of study objectives having been found acceptable, Lebeaux, a non-Latino, but convinced that a study of this kind should to the greatest extent possible be done by people from within the Latino community, was fortunate in obtaining as co-principal investigator Professor Gumecindo Salas, then in charge of Latino studies at Monteith College of Wayne State University.

It should be noted that although work on this study started in Winter 1972, uncertainty about funding delayed full commitment on the most critical part, the home interview survey, until September. We have thus had less than a year to carry out the bulk of this study, interpret the findings and prepare this report.

Acknowledgments

There are many people who get involved in a study of this kind. We wish to thank them all, and particularly: the Archdiocese of Detroit for its vision in supporting the Latin-American Secretariat; the people in the Secretariat, Mr. Leyton whom we have mentioned, and Ms. Carol Bistricki for her sweetness and light; New Detroit for its financial help, and for the very kind and thoughtful administration of Mr. Walter Douglas; all the people at LA SED, which was our "field office", particularly Ms. Adela Camarena, the Acting Director; our

Latino Advisory Committee, especially Ms. Tina Knoll and Bob and Kathy Mehia; Ms. Barabara Wolfe of the Wayne State University Computation Center whose expertise is beyond a layman's understanding, and Ms. Betty Hopkins, census specialist, of the Wayne State University General Libraries; Larry Rivera, a Latino student at the Wayne State University School of Social Work who helped with census statistics; Felipe Peralta, a University of Michigan Social Work student; our home interviewers who handled a most difficult task with grace and tact; all our Latino respondents, the great majority of whom were happy to help; and our secretaries at Wayne State University, Tina Patricolo and Clara Rodriquez who were ever helpful. We would also like to thank Nora Garza Holland who typed the final copy of this report.

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- An Additional Small Section of the Findings Will Be Presented in the Near Future. The Main Content is the Survey of Organizations Described in Part I in Research Methods 101

Part I

RESEARCH METHODS

Although in this report of findings information from all sources has been integrated, there were three distinct sources of data: the home survey, the agency survey, and the United States Census.

A. The Home Interview Survey

1. The sample and interview process. While it would be desirable, in a social service needs survey of "Detroit Latinos", to have a large, representative sample of all Detroit Latinos, within the funding limits of this study there was no feasible way to obtain such a sample. Rather than attempting to select arbitrarily a number of families scattered throughout the large area of Southwest Detroit where Latinos live, which would give us a sample of unknown composition and reliability, we decided to focus our research on a limited but substantial area of Latino concentration in the heart of the barrio. For this purpose we inspected 1970 Census Tract data for Detroit and selected Census Tract # 7 (C. T. 7) which has the highest proportion of Latinos of all Census Tracts. Using this population for our sample has a number of advantages:

-- it defines very precisely the population to be sampled,

-- it reduces the sampling problem to manageable proportions,

-- it simplifies the physical task of interviewing, and the cost,

-- by focusing on the most concentrated area of Latino life in the heart of the barrio we reflect the most intense level of Latino culture,

-- C. T. 7, as an older part of the Latino residential area, will have larger numbers of the people most needing service: poor and working-class people rather than the "upward mobile" who move to newer neighborhoods; the new in-migrants, from Mexico, Texas, the fields; older people; broken families, and the like,

-- permits comparison with 1970 Census data.

Using Census data which showed about 300 Latino households in the Tract, we decided on a 50% sample, which would give about 150 household interviews, the maximum our budget allowed. A foot survey of every street and alley in the Tract was then undertaken, and a map created which showed every dwelling unit by street address and number, including multiple unit buildings in which the number of dwelling units was specified.

Interviewers were then assigned to interview in every second dwelling unit; but when it soon became apparent that there were fewer Latino households than the Census indicated, we shifted to a 100% "sample", that is, every dwelling unit in the Tract was approached (with some exceptions noted below) and if occupied by Latinos an interview was conducted. It should be noted that our "sample" is no longer a sample, but substantially the entire Latino population in the Tract.

It is rare in social survey research to approach as close to 100% coverage of the sample as we have attained in this study -- we believe we have reached 96-97 per cent of all the Latino households in the Tract. The possible omissions are two homes shown in the City Directory as Latino where there were indications the occupants did not want to be interviewed; two apartments in a multiple dwelling structure where no children are permitted and the occupants could not be found, but which were indicated in the City Directory as Latino occupied; and possibly one or two units in another apartment house where occupants could not be found. The intensity of the effort to reach all possible respondents is shown in the "call back" notes of one interviewer at one home:

March 27, sick
March 28, no answer
March 30, no answer

April 3, sick
April 4, no answer
April 9, no answer
April 12, no answer
April 18, no answer
April 26, interview completed.

Of course, not many interviews were as difficult to complete as the one above. But there were enough to make the interview process long and difficult. In addition, incomplete data were obtained in a few households either because the respondent did not possess the information or did not wish to give it. For all such households we have some basic demographic data.

In most cases the respondents, that is, those who gave the data, were the "female heads of house", who of course are the people usually home during the day. Many times, however, the male head was also home and participated in the interview. In a very few cases, when no one else was available, an older child was the respondent.

In deference to Latino culture it was thought wise to employ only female interviewers. (One of the unexpected problems in this study was the difficulty in finding effective and motivated interviewers, which caused much delay.) It was also, of course, required that the interviewer be fluent in both Spanish and English, so that respondents could use the language they preferred, and that she be of Latino background to facilitate communication and understanding. A male interviewer, also of Latino background, was used in some apartment houses which we thought might be unsafe for a female.

In the very great majority of homes the families were happy to talk with our interviewers and give the information requested. It is sometimes said that in some neighborhoods of the city the people are "fed up" with being interviewed and they will reject further efforts to obtain information from them. Indeed, that has been said of the people in C. T. 7. In our opinion that view is almost wholly false -- a few people will object, sometimes for personal, sometimes for political reasons; most people like to be interviewed and contribute their views and knowledge for

useful purposes. In this study, according to our interviewers, most people found the interview to be a pleasurable experience, they would like to do it again; and some obtained some social service assistance from the interviewer, who obtained information or referred the families to sources of aid.

2. The Interview Questionnaire. The primary purpose of the home interviews was to obtain information from Latino people on their knowledge of social service programs, their use of such programs, and their need for social services, as a guide for the further development of such services. As can be seen from the Interview Schedule [2] we adhered closely to this goal, seeking data on language problems, income, family breakdown, employment, child care needs, medical care, housing, recreation needs especially of youth and the elderly, and problems of social maladjustment of children and adults. In addition we obtained data about family composition, migrant labor status and overall morale.

B. The Agency Survey

At the outset, as we have noted above, it was the intention of the sponsoring organization of this study to delineate deficiencies in service to the Latino community by studying primarily the practices of the social agencies, the number of Latinos served, provision of Spanish-speaking personnel, and the like. In the experience of the senior investigator the amount of usable knowledge that can be gained this way is severely limited, for a number of reasons:

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2. Available on request from the authors.

- most important, one cannot tell from a record of services given what are the needs of the people who have not come to the agency; this is precisely the problem with Spanish-speaking people who may not know of a service or, knowing of it, may be blocked from use by language inadequacy.

- one cannot tell from reports by agencies, who must inevitably shape and package their services to fit the needs of the average clientele, whether the services really meet the needs of a culturally different group, i. e., whether they really helped.

- very often agencies, especially large ones, will not collect data on the number, and types of service, of the various ethnic groups they serve.

- although data on number and function of Latino employees likely will be available, there is no way to know if this is realistically related to the actual or potential Latino usage of the agency.

Data from agencies can be used in conjunction with information from service-needers, and this is what we have attempted to do in this study. However, in our opinion, agency-derived information is much less illuminating and useful than that obtained from home interviews.

From the agency interview schedule, shown below, it can be seen that five main types of data were sought: number of Latino clients, physical accessibility of service, provision for Spanish-speaking clients, extent of agency orientation to Latino community, and number and functions of Latino employees.

Archdiocese of Detroit - Latin American Secretariat

SURVEY OF AGENCY SERVICES TO THE LATINO COMMUNITY

Areas of Inquiry

1. Description of services provided by the agency.
    a) Note also services specifically for Latino Community, if any.

2. Numbers of clientele served, for each service and proportion of total Latino clientele for each service, for last year or representative vacant months.

3. Physical location of services, for each service.

    a) Location of main office.

    b) Location of branches, divisions, etc., in relation to Latino community.

    c) Existence of transportation to locus of service.

    d) Do clients have to come to office, or are there in-community personnel.

4. Provisions for Spanish-speaking clients:

    a) Are there Spanish-speaking workers in the agency.

    b) Are such workers easily available.

    c) Do other workers know of the Spanish-speaking personnel and refer to them.

    d) If no Spanish-speaking workers, are translators called in.

    e) Are there "outreach" workers in the Latino area.

    f) Other special provisions . . . . . .

5. Agency orientation toward Latino community:

    a) If there is a governing board, are there Latino members. How many.

    b) Is there Latino membership on advisory committees.

    c) Are Latino community organizations (e. g. LA SED) on mailing list for general information about services, new programs, etc.,

    d) Are there other efforts to inform Latino community about agency and establish relationship with community.

    e) Does the in-service training program of agency include material about Latino community.

f) Is there any information about how Latinos view the agency and its services?

6. Latino employees:

a) How many Latino employees.

b) What proportion of total work force in agency.

c) What positions in agency do they occupy.

d) Are efforts made to recruit Latino employees:

1) What kind of efforts.

2) What results.

About 15 agencies were interviewed. They were selected for the most part by our Latino Advisory Committee; out of the host of social agencies which serve a large city like Detroit the target agencies were chosen either as known to be active in service to the Latino area, or because of their presumed importance to the area. No effort was made to be comprehensive since it was impossible to approach the literally hundreds of agencies which may have contact with Latinos.

The information-gathering process involved creation of the interview guide shown above; the mailing of a letter requesting cooperation, signed by the Archbishop of the Diocese, from the Latin-American Secretariat to the directors of the selected agencies (in large agencies responses being delayed sometimes for months while communication ran up and down the command hierarchies); phone contact to set an interview date; the interview; follow-up contacts to obtain data not available at interview. At the start the co-investigators conducted joint interviews; later the bulk of the interviews were done by Mr. Salas alone.

Generally, agency personnel were cordial and tried to be helpful, in many cases, however, they were unable to furnish data sought because it was not available.

C. The 1970 United States Census

Although we (especially Lebeaux) did a great deal of work in obtaining and summarizing Census data on C. T. 7, they will not be reproduced in this report for the reason that we do not think they are accurate. For anyone interested, the data are available in his office at the School of Social Work, Wayne State University.

In the section on Demographic Data: The Population of C. T. 7, in the Findings part of this report, details on the Census method are given to show why those data are inaccurate for C. T. 7 (but not necessarily for the total Latino population of the city). Basically the difficulty is that they used small samples, and a mailed questionnaire.

We should say a word, however, on the matter of storage and retrieval of Census data on the Spanish-speaking population. The data do not exist in printed form, and will not be printed by the United States Census. They exist only on tapes, in very intricate computer formulae, and can be made accessible for use only with the assistance of computer experts who are also knowledgeable with the Census -- and there are very few such. We were lucky to find one at Wayne State University.

D. Limitations

We give here the most important advice of the study. Everyone knows that a poor social survey is a waste of time; but many do not know that even a good one, as we believe this to be, cannot be used directly to determine social policy or to make decisions about what services should be. There are many obvious reasons why this is so; we wish to emphasize two here. First, the whole concept of "social needs" and "social service needs", while it deals with an important reality, is very squashy. For example, in this study we find a large majority of respondents saying they "are satisfied with their medical care". These were honest responses to an honest question. But we know also that many have "low expectations" and they say they are satisfied when we feel they shouldn't be. Whom shall we believe? What is the real "social service need" here? One must not go directly from survey facts to a judgement about "needed services"; much more must be taken into account. Which leads to the second point: to some very large extent social policy decisions must be political, rather than scientific, in the sense that they must represent compromises and balances among the differing and often conflicting values, desires and powers of the various groups, including clients, agencies, and the larger community, who have an interest in the outcome. It is the purpose of studies such as this to help assure that the political process reaches decisions that are as rational and just as possible.

PART II

STUDY FINDINGS

Chapter I

Demographic Data

So-called "census-type" data -- number of people, age, family composition, and the like -- are usually needed in planning for social services. Since questions have been raised about the accuracy of the 1970 Census findings especially in "inner-cities", some basic demographic information was obtained in this study.[3]

1. Population in Census Tract 7. In addition to the deficiencies in the general Census procedure which might account for the discrepancies cited in the New York study there is an extra problem with data on the Spanish-speaking population in that they were derived from sub-samples. Where the sample is small the population data may vary widely from actuality due simply to chance. Such sampling errors will cancel out when many Census Tracts are grouped together, that is, for the entire city or United States population, but not of course within any one Tract such as the one we have studied in Detroit.

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3. The Public Interest, No. 32, Summer 1973, p. 113. As an example of the possible extent of Census inaccuracy, it found expenditures for for welfare grants in New York City in 1969 to be $520 million; but the records of the agency administering welfare showed $883 million spent. Instead of the 291,000 welfare cases which the Census counted, the actual rolls showed 477,000 cases.

Since the number of Latinos in Detroit has been a matter of some controversy, we should explain how the Census data are derived.

Two separate types of data form the basis of the Census figures. One type relates to origin or descent obtained through question 13a of the United States Census schedule, which was asked of only 5% of the households. The question is as follows:

"Is this person's origin or descent (Fill one circle)

O Mexican	O Central or South American
O Puerto Rican	O Other Spanish
O Cuban	O no, none of these"

The other type of data relates to Spanish language, obtained through question 17 of the Census schedule, which reads as follows:

"What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child? Fill one circle.

O Spanish	O Other - Specify _____
O French	O None, English only."
O German	

Question 17 was asked in a 15% sample of households. In the 5% question returns were multiplied by a factor of 20 to obtain population estimates which are published as Census data. In the 15% question the multiplier is 6.67. Based on these samples, the Census estimates of total Latino population in Census Tract #7, the locus of the present study, were as follows:

Spanish origin or descent question	829 persons
Spanish language question	1202 persons.

Since the "language question" was asked of the larger (15%) sample, Census estimates of the total Detroit Latino population, about 30,000

in 1970 are based on it rather than on the "origin or descent" question.

The present study yielded a total, 789, smaller than either of the above two figures for Tract #7. Since the present study employed a house to house survey, with careful inquiry to ensure that Latino households were not overlooked, and a personal interview in nearly every household; we are confident that our count is close to the actual number. It is certain that a few persons would be missed, but the error cannot be large, not more than 2-3 per cent (that is, perhaps 10-20 persons), and this would be partially balanced by inclusion in the Latino count given above of a small number of non-Latino spouses of Latino mates.

The United States Census was taken in April 1970; our data were gathered in 1972-73 -- could this time lapse account for the lower population? People are always moving; about one out of five Americans moves every year. Many Chicanos doubtlessly moved out of Census Tract 7 between 1970 and 1972-73, but a great many also moved in (see Table 1) and we know of no reason why there should have been any substantial net change of Latino population in the Tract during this time.

Some of these moves would have been within the Census Tract. However, the very large number of in-movers since the Census -- over 40% -- suggests that the tract has not lost Latino population in the last couple of years.

TABLE 1

Date When Family Moved To Present House

	Number	Per Cent
Before 1960	28	15
1960-1964	19	11
1965-April 1970 (Census Date)	52	30
May 1970-1971	25	13
1972-1973	49	29
Not Ascertained	4	2
Totals	177	100

Our data therefore indicate that the 30,000 Census estimate of Detroit Latinos in 1970 should be accepted as not an undercount. The large number of Latino in-movers in Tract 7, however, also suggests that the number of Detroit Latinos today may be appreciably larger than it was in 1970.

2. Family Composition.

Family Size: As seen in Table 2 there are not as many very large families in the Latino community as is popularly supposed. The median size for family groups is between 4 and 5, and this includes a good number of non-nuclear family members.

Composition. In addition to the 32 individuals there were 18 husband-wife families, 10 with the head 65 or older, living without other family members. There were 11 husband-wife families who had children 18 years or older, or other relatives, living with them.

A total of 99 husband-wife families had their own children under 18 in the home; 65 of these had children under 6 years of age. These are the families who are rearing the bulk of the next generation.

TABLE 2

Family Size

Size of Family	Number in Category
1	32[a]
2	24
3	22
4	31
5	27
6	20
7	15
8	8
9	5
10	3
11	2
Not Ascertained	9
Total	198

a. Included in the category of one are unrelated, same sex individuals living in the same quarters with other individuals. This accounts for the total of 198 "families". There were 9 males (3 over 65) and 6 females (3 over 65) living alone. There were 2 groups of two unrelated individuals, and 4 groups of three unrelated individuals living together.

Female-headed Families. From a social services needs viewpoint, the most crucial group in any population is usually "broken families", especially children in homes where both parents are not present. In Tract 7 we found no children under 18 living with father only, a not unexpected finding. There were, however, a good many female-headed families with children under 18, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Children Under 18, Not Living With Both Parents, By Age And Whether Grandparents Present

Number of Children	Number of Families With Mother Alone	Number of Families With Mother and Grandparents	Total Number of Children
1	5	3	8
2	5	2	14
3	3	1	12
4	4		16
5	2		10
	19	6	60

When the mother and children live with one or two grandparents there is a kind of "extended family" which may greatly improve the family situation. Moreover, in some of the 19 mother-headed families not with grandparents the mother does have other family members present -- a married older child, sister, brother, or cousin -- who may provide family support. In addition to the above children, there

are a very few, perhaps four or five, young children living with neither parent, but with a relative such as grandparents or uncle.

We can use the above data to make an interesting comparison of "child dependency" among Latinos in Census Tract 7 in Detroit with similar figures for white and non-white United States population in 1969:

	Per Cent Of Children Under 18 Not With Both Parents
U. S. Whites, 1969	9
U. S. Blacks, 1969	40
Detroit C. T. 7 Latinos, 1972	17

It can be seen that the Detroit Latino figure is about twice the white national figure. The Latino figure, however, may be influenced by the greater incidence of widowhood among them, (see Table 4), and by the lower average socio-economic level of Latinos, both as compared to national averages.

TABLE 4

Marital Status Of Mothers
In Female-headed Families, C. T. 7

Divorced	8
Widowed	6
Separated	5
Unmarried	3
Not Ascertained	3
	25

If these factors were controlled the essential "family disorganization rate" of Detroit Latinos would be substantially closer to general population rates.

Age. Basic age data, by sex, useful for estimating age-related needs such as recreation, is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Age By Sex, Census Tract 7,
Detroit Latinos, 1972-73

	Male	Female	Total
0-4	62	50	112
5-9	72	40	112
10-14	54	52	106
15-19	41	40	81
20-24	26	27	53
25-29	21	28	54
30-44	66	55	121
45-59	37	44	81
60-64	5	13	18
65 and up	28	18	46
Not Ascertained	2	3	5
Totals	419	370	789

The shortage of females in the under 10 group is noteworthy.

Ethnic Sub-components of the Latino Population: The term "Latino" has now come into general use to refer to most Spanish-

speaking peoples of the Western Hemisphere although there is uncertainty about the inclusion of such peoples as the Argentines and Chileans; and it includes Spaniards of Europe, but not Portugese (or Italians, the truest Latinos of all!).

Who are the Latinos of Detroit? As can be seen from Table 6, the great majority are of Mexican background,

TABLE 6

Ethnic Backgrounds Of Detroit Latino Heads Of Families, Husband-Wife Pairs And Individuals

Mexican Man - Mexican Wife	110	
Mexican Man - Other Latino Wife	3	
Mexican Man - Non-Latino Wife	4	
Mexican Wife - Non-Latino Man	8	
Puerto Rican Man - Puerto Rican Wife	5	
Puerto Rican Man - Other Latino Wife	1	
Puerto Rican Man - Non-Latino Wife	1	
Cuban Man - Cuban Wife	1	
Cuban Man - Other Latino Wife	1	
Other Latino Man - Other Latino Wife	2	
Non-Latino Man - Other Latino Wife	1	
	137	Pairs
Latino Woman, No Spouse Present	26	
Mexican Man, No Spouse Present	13	
Puerto Rican Man, No Spouse Present	2	
Non-Latino Woman, No Spouse Present (But with children of Mexican father)	1	
	42	Individuals

with a few Puerto Ricans, and fewer Cubans. (Note, however, that the "other Latino" category consists mostly of Puerto Ricans and Cubans.) Of the 137 pairs, 14 involve a non-Latino spouse, with 9 the man non-Latino, and 5 the wife non-Latino. There are some 36 children in these Latino non-Latino marriages; but there are additional children of such "mixed" marriage in female headed families. All, including the 14 non-Latino spouses, have been counted as Latino in this study.

Chapter II

Language Abilities and Problems

The language barrier -- Spanish-speaking clients seeking service from English-speaking agency personnel -- is an important factor in the provision of social services to the Latino community.[4] Difficulties with language have led to requests for the use of Spanish-speaking workers in many of the agencies. In this survey we have attempted to obtain information which would throw light on the extent and nature of this problem.

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4. In the past there have been much larger non-English-speaking groups in Detroit -- Polish immigrants a generation or two ago, for example -- but they came in an era when cultural assimilation into the American "melting pot" was the ruling social philosophy. Community agencies, with minor exceptions, made no effort to adjust to the special needs of such groups, nor were they expected to. Mutual aid efforts within ethnic groups were of course extensive.

1. Spanish and English Speaking Abilities of the Detroit Latino Population. A recent report cites estimates that 47% of Detroit Latinos speak only Spanish.[5] Data obtained in this study, by direct contact with the families (the only empirical evidence on this question that we know of) show that this estimate greatly understates the English speaking abilities of Detroit Latinos.

TABLE 7
Ability To Speak Spanish
Or English, Or Both, By Age

	Under 18		18-45		46-64		65 And Over		NA	Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		#	%
English & Spanish	232	71	188	70	59	65	30	64	2	511	65
Spanish Only	35	11	57	21	28	31	17	36		137	17
English Only	54	16	22	8	2	2				78	10
Under 2 Years										53	7
Not Ascertained	7	2	3	1	1	1				11	1
Totals	328	100	270	100	90	100	47	100	2	790	100

In Table 7 we see that only 17% are reported as speaking Spanish only; 65% speak both English and Spanish, while 10% speak only English. The breakdown by age shows, as one would expect, that restriction to Spanish

5. This estimate is reported in an unpublished paper by Felipe Peralta, Bi-Lingual Survey, (United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit, April 9, 1973). He writes: "In recent reports, the International Institute and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission have estimated that 47% of the Latinos speak only Spanish. Another 30% have problems with reading or speaking the English language". The source of these estimates is not given.

increases with age; but even in the two oldest age groups only one third are reported as "Spanish only".

The above data, given for all family members by the respondent who was usually the female head of house, do not divulge how well the language is spoken, whether Spanish or English, nor what the people prefer to speak. While we do not have such information for the entire group, we do have it for the interviewee in each household, and the findings are illuminating, as shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Respondent Preference
Of Language In Interview

Spanish	104
English	49
Either	24
Not Ascertained	1
	178

It appears that while few feel restricted to Spanish, around two thirds of the middle-aged population feel more comfortable conversing in that language. Indeed, if we estimate that a full half of those age 18 and over cannot communicate effectively in English, and add those to the 137 reported as speaking only Spanish, there are about 260 persons who are without effective command of English, concentrated in the adult and older ages. Most of these people, however, apparently do not see this as a serious handicap.

Social service planners, from their larger perspective on how pervasive an influence language competence is in social and economic success, may well decide that it is a more serious problem than the people themselves perceive it. Our demographic data caution us against putting too great a weight on such preference in planning social services for the generation ahead. The younger age groups who will be the middle-aged of the next decade are almost certainly going to have a majority preference for English rather than Spanish, a conclusion supported by the data on place of birth, shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Place Of Birth

	#	%
Michigan (Detroit 259; other Michigan 43)	302	38
Mexico	243	31
Texas	174	22
Other U. S.	34	4
Puerto Rico	16	2
Cuba	11	2
Other Latin American or Spain	9	1
Other Country	1	-
Not Ascertained	3	-
Total	793	100

Nearly 40% of the total were born in Michigan; about two-thirds in the United States. Moreover, it is predominantly the younger who are born in this country and who form the future.

We should note also that Census Tract 7 is now the heart of the older area of Latino settlement in Detroit, the "port of entry" for newcomers from Mexico and the Southwest, the area where older people stay just because it is Spanish-speaking and Chicano in culture, and where on average the less upward mobile live. Thus it is highly likely that our sample understates the English command, and overstates the Spanish dependency, of the total Detroit Latino population.

2. Respondent Views of Language as a Problem. In one specific area -- employment -- we obtained the people's perceptions of language as a problem. The question was asked: Is language a problem in finding work? The responses for the 168 work force members on whom data were obtained were as follows:

No	137
Yes	31
Unclear	2
Not Ascertained	3

While the proportion reporting language as a problem is small, less than 20% of the total, it is an appreciable number. especially when it is realized that this is an additional handicap on top of the "normal" difficulties that a group of low educational level will have in finding acceptable work.

A good proportion of those for whom language is a problem in relation to work are young men recently up from Mexico, either employed or looking for work. It is surprising to find a number of such recent immigrants, in the United States just a few months, speaking no English, who have high-paying jobs in construction. This is probably a tribute to their willingness to work very hard. But there is little job security in the construction industry and lacking ability in English it is difficult to make the typical job move into factory work. So for them language is a problem.

There are also highly individual ways in which language affects employment. For example, one man who speaks only Spanish is threatened with job loss not because English is needed for his work but because he cannot get a driving license to enable him to get to work.

Other Language-related Difficulties. In a few cases language becomes a problem in relation to medical care -- the patient, usually an older person, cannot describe his condition and needs to the doctor. Sometimes older children must be inconvenienced to accompany and interpret for the patient. Some older people also find language a handicap in leisure time use; programs they would like to participate in are not in Spanish. The recent younger arrivals from Mexico have a similar problem -- as one said he "would like a place to play checkers in Spanish".

3. Language Barriers to Receipt of Income Maintenance Services. The income maintenance services - Social Security, AFDC, Old Age

Assistance, etc.; - are by far the most important of all social services. They are the most widely and intensively used and absorb perhaps 3/4's of all social welfare expenditures. Although the very extensive use made of them by the Latinos in Census Tract 7 is detailed in the Income Status section of this report we should note here that in the entire group of households interviewed there did not appear to be any who qualified for receipt of a grant or benefit who was not receiving it. This is an interesting and heartening finding, indicating at the least that language has not been an important barrier to this most crucial set of services. An intensive search might find more cases that do qualify for income aids.

4. Spanish Language as Symbol of Group Identity. A persistant problem in the Latino community has been the difficulty that children reared in Spanish-speaking homes have on entering school where English is the sole means of communication. Many children have been educationally retarded, and the drop-out rate has been notoriously high.

It is startling to discover that in the perceptions of parents this problem has now nearly reversed itself. Questions to parents of school-age children designed to discover their desires regarding school programs to help their children learn English frequently elicit instead requests that the schools teach Spanish to their children, so that they will retain their Latino culture and group identity. References to this kind of desire were made by a majority of parents with elementary school children.

It should be noted that this kind of "problem" is quite different from those described above, where inadequacy in English, rather than in Spanish, is the core of the difficulty and leads, or may lead, to an inaccessibility of opportunities in the larger society which are inevitably mediated through the English language.

The demand for the schools to teach Spanish reflects a desire not for assimilation into the dominant culture but rather to assert difference -- part of the recent resurgence of ethnic group identity in this country.

Recommendations

We must distinguish between the problems of inadequacy in English and inadequacy in Spanish.

Inadequacy in English -- a. The data of this study show clearly that lack of English is not seen as a problem by the majority of Latinos in Detroit. Accessibility to the services of the larger society, especially to the important income maintenance programs, has not been seriously hampered for most (although it is for some). Demographic data indicate further that the problem will decline in the future.

b. For this reason, and because the Latino population is a relatively small proportion of the City population, it would be a mistake to make an effort to place substantial numbers of Spanish speaking service-givers in all of the agencies and organizations

which serve, occasionally serve, or might potentially serve the Latino community.

c. In those agencies and organizations which are heavily used, and which are located in the heart of the barrio, especially the older sections of the barrio where newcomers and old-timers with language problems congregate, or which carry a special responsibility for serving Latinos, a definite effort should be made to employ Spanish-speaking service workers. This, of course, is wisely already being done -- in CHASS, the Employment Service outpost in LA SED, Vocational Rehabilitation, the Latino Mental Health Center, etc.

We recommend that social service professionals in the Latino community who are in closest touch with needs and services should pool their knowledge to see whether there are some other service areas of intense use where a focused effort should be made to obtain Spanish speaking service givers. For example, as noted elsewhere, some Latinos have a language problem in getting medical care; we have also discovered that some <u>proprietary</u> clinics are heavily used by Latinos. Is there a need for Latino personnel in some of these clinics?

On the other hand we think it would be a mistake to push strongly for large numbers of Latinos to be employed in, for example, Detroit General Hospital, the Social Security Administration, Family Service of Metropolitan Detroit, etc. It is practically impossible to find qualified workers in such numbers, the use level would be low, and much frustration and unhappiness in relations to

the larger community likely would result -- all with little reason or useful result.

d. For the relatively small number of Latinos who do have language problems in relation to obtaining specific service, but whose needs are highly individual and scattered over a wide range of services, what is needed is not Spanish-speaking personnel in every conceivable service agency, but a method of finding the individuals needing help and getting them to the appropriate service if there is one. For example, for the non-English speaking man who needs a driving license the solution is not to staff the Michigan Department of State with Spanish-speaking bureaucrats. Or for the recent Mexican immigrant who wants to "play checkers in Spanish" it is not sensible to think of staffing the City Parks and Recreation Department with Latino recreation leaders (although, of course in each case there should be fair opportunities for Latinos to obtain employment in such settings -- but that is not the point here).

What is needed is an agency from within the community, sensitive and knowledgeable about Latino culture and values, to find the needful families and individuals and either take them to the appropriate service (with interpreter help where needed), or create the needed service themselves. For the would-be checker player it may be necessary to start a Chicano checker club, perhaps as an adjunct to a restaurant, or in connection with some other existing organization, church, etc.,

For the man needing a car license, there is likewise no "agency"; a volunteer tutor and teacher is needed, to learn the roadsigns, for driving rules and practice.

LA SED is, of course, already the prototype of such a within-the-community agency. It is not the purpose or competence of this study to assess the effectiveness of LA SED or any other agency -- however, we do reiterate the basic need for such a type of agency. We would also emphasize the need for an extension of volunteer services from within the community. For example, in this study by going from door to door we discovered quite a few families who appeared to be in need of some help. Some systematic, institutionalized way of doing this for the entire Latino community would be desirable.

For the group identity aspect of the language problem, that is, for the learning of Spanish, we think it is quite appropriate that schools in neighborhoods with a heavy concentration of Latinos should offer classes in Spanish and other offerings on Latino culture as they do in Detroit. Insofar as the United States has a second language it is indeed Spanish and it is not difficult for educational authorities to support such programs.[6]

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6. The Continuing Education Department of the Detroit Board of Education sponsors English classes for the foreign born during different times of the year at LA SED, Western Elementary School, and Amelia Earhart Junior High School. In addition Latino Heritage classes are held for students at the Amelia Earhart Junior High School and Western High School during the school year. Wayne County Community College has provided a Latino Culture class in the community and expects to do so in the future.

On the other hand, as elsewhere shown Latinos are not a large population group in Detroit as a whole, and in areas where Latinos are few it would be unwise to insist on a large use of always limited resources for Spanish language and culture programs. It would be better, more efficient, and generally more amicable for all, for the widely scattered members of the Latino flock to be served culturally by their voluntary programs -- as so many other ethnic groups do. This again is the kind of effort that might be organized by such an agency as LA SED.

Chapter III

Migrant Stream Drop-Outs

In the original request for this study from the Latin-American Secretariat, as noted above, there was a major concern for the condition of Chicano migrant laborers in the Detroit area, and particularly for the Detroit "drop-outs from the migrant stream". Current belief has it, there are a considerable number of Latinos in the City who have recently left migrant labor work and who are poorly equipped for life in the City. There has been a natural desire to find and help these people.

Study resources did not permit a study of migrant labor conditions in the area around Detroit, or of the "migrant stream drop-outs" scattered through Detroit. We do, however, have some very useful information bearing on the problem from our C. T. 7 study. First, when did the Latinos come to Detroit? As shown in Table 10 only 27 family units, 15% of all, have come in the last four years -- and many of these would not be of migrant labor prior status.

TABLE 10

Year Head Of Family Came To Detroit

	Number	PerCent
1972-73	13	7
1970-71	12	7
1965-69	35	20
1960-64	8	4
1955-59	21	11
1950-54	17	10
1940-49	32	18
Earlier	27	16
Born in Detroit	9	5
Not Ascertained	4	2
	177	100

The majority have been in Detroit for many years and cannot be considered as rural greenhorns adrift in the city.

Also somewhat illuminating are the data showing where the families lived before coming to Detroit (Table 11).

Notable here is the relatively small number who lived elsewhere in Michigan before settling in Detroit, that is, the concept that the Detroit Latino population is composed in some large degree of drop-outs from the Chicano migrant stream through the Michigan fields and orchards is not supported by these data.

TABLE 11

Where Families Lived
Before Coming To Detroit

Mexico	49
Texas	61
Other Southwest State	5
Other Michigan Community	23
Other United States State	19
Puerto Rico	6
Cuba	3
Other Latin American Country or Spain	2
Born in Detroit	9
Not Ascertained	2
	179

Most instructive of all are our findings on how many families ever worked as migrants, and when. The questions was: Did you or your family ever work in the fields as migratory workers? If the answer was yes: What year did you stop migratory field work? As can be seen from Table 12 136 of 177 respondent families never worked as migrants. Only three can be thought of as recent "drop-outs" in the past three years. Taken together, these data mean that the Latino community leaders can feel relieved concerning the needs of the recently migrant labor force drop-outs -- they hardly exist. As noted elsewhere, there are in-migrant groups who do need

attention, particularly the young factory or construction worker who has come recently directly from Mexico (or Texas) and is supporting a family "back home" and may have hard problems of daily living in Detroit.

TABLE 12

Migrant Work Experience Of
C. T. 7 Detroit Latino Families

Never Worked as Migrant Laborers	136
Last Work Experience 1970-73	3
Last Work Experience 1965-69	11
Last Work Experience 1960-64	0
Last Work Experience 1950-59	5
Last Work Experience Earlier	13
Last Work Experience Not Ascertained	9
	177

Chapter IV

Income Status

Although complete and accurate data on income are not obtainable through survey research alone, income is such an important factor in assessing social needs that we sought information on several aspects: amount of earnings from employment (discussed in Employment Section), total family income, sources of income, and respondent views of adequacy of income.

1. Total Family Income. In Table 13 is shown a detailed breakdown of monthly income, by size of family group dependent on that income. The following facts about the data in the table should be noted:

- Individuals, whether living alone, as roomers in a family, or with other unrelated individuals, are treated as separate "family units".

- Earnings are based on "take home pay" since this is what respondents are most likely to know about.

- There is a large number of "not ascertained" income cases because in these cases complete family income was not reported, such as earnings of a second or third employed family member, amount of rent from roomers, amount of a public assistance grant, etc.,

- In many cases the "income not ascertained" families had substantial incomes derived from several employed members; the average income of the not ascertained families is probably higher than that of the reported families. For example: in a family of four with three grown children, two of whom were employed, no income data were obtained; in another family of four with man and wife working and income from a roomer, the reported total of income was $1036 per month, but the wife's earnings were not reported; a family eight, including a sub-family receiving AFDC, had a reported income of $17,000 per year, but the amount of the AFDC grant was not given.

- The 9 "family size not ascertained" cases are situations where the number of people dependent on the reported income was not known, for example, a man working in Detroit supporting a family of unknown size in Mexico.

In general, incomes as reported are under-estimates rather than overestimates. The major source of over-statement of income is the winter-time unemployment of construction workers (partially balanced by Unemployment Compensation benefits or, in the case of those who return in winter to Mexico or Texas, income from unknown employments). Underestimates stem from a number of sources: the

TABLE 13

Total Family Income,
By Size Of Family

Monthly Income	Size of Family												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	NA	Total
$100 or Less													0
101-150	4												4
151-200	2	2	1		1								6
201-250	5	1	1										7
251-300	2	3		1									6
301-350	1	3		2	1								7
351-400					1	1							2
401-450	1	3	1	1		2		1					9
451-500	1	1	1			1		2				1	7
501-600	1	6	4	2	4	1			2				20
601-700	2	1	3	9	7			2		1		3	28
701-800		1	3			3	1		1			2	11
801-900	1		3	3	4		2		1				14
901-1000			2	2	1	1	2				2		10
1001-1200	1		1	1	2	2	3						10
1201-1400	2	1		1	1		2		1	1			9
1401-1600				1	1	2	2						6
1601-1800				2									2
Not Ascert.	9	2	3	5	4	8	4	2	—	1	—	3	41
Totals	32	24	23	30	27	21	16	7	5	3	2	9	199

universal reluctance to disclose income; the calculation of earnings as "take home pay" rather than gross, and excluding "fringe" (newspaper reports in August, 1973 indicate average auto factory pay as $5 per hour plus $3 per hour fringe); undisclosed earnings from property and capital.

It is evident from Table 13 that not many Latino families in Census Tract 7 would fall under the official "poverty line" which in December 1972 was $4200 per year for families of four in urban areas, and higher or lower for families of different sizes. A fair estimate of the number of "family spending units" at or under the official poverty line would be in the range of 15-20. Compared to national figures, and those for other "inner city" groups, Detroit Latinos on average have adequate incomes. But we know from other data that more than 15 or 20 Latino families in C. T. 7 have inadequate income. The tabulation of income sources other than earnings (Table 14) shows that 28 families were on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 19 were receiving adult category relief (Old Age Assistance, Aid to Disabled, Aid to the Blind), and 9 general assistance ("Welfare"). Recipients of public assistance in Michigan are not usually below the poverty line; if one includes "relief in kind" (Medicaid, Food Stamps, and the like) they are generally somewhat above it. It is also true that some of these relief cases are living with financially independent family members which undoubtedly eases their financial burden. Yet it cannot be held

TABLE 14

Income Sources Other Than Earnings,
Number Of Families And Individuals

Aid to Families With Dependent Children	28
Old Age Assistance, Aid to Disabled, Aid to Blind	19
General Assistance (Welfare)	9
Social Security Benefits	32
Unemployment Compensation Benefits	13
Veterans Benefits or Compensation	1
Union or Employer Pension	11
Rent from Roomers	15
Income from Other Property	9
Other Income (e.g. child care payments)	9
	146

that people on relief have adequate incomes. In addition to the more than 50 relief cases who may be in financially straitened circumstances a certain number of Social Security and Unemployment Compensation beneficiaries (especially those without other sources of income) do not have adequate incomes. And even a few of those who are working full time have quite low incomes.

Adding up in rough fashion the above information, since many of the above cases are in the same family, one could estimate that about 50 of the approximately 200 Latino "family spending units" in C. T. 7 have income inadequacies (but keep in mind that

most of these are aged individuals or couples or ADC families). This estimate comes suprisingly close to perceptions of the families themselves. Asked: Does your family have enough income to live on? they responded:

Yes	121
No	48
Not Ascertained	9

There is a strong tendency for people at any income level to feel that they "do not have enough to live on". Yet here about two thirds of respondents report adequacy of income. There are at least two special reasons for this perception in the Latino community: first, as reported elsewhere, rents are surprisingly reasonable in the barrio; second, perceptions of poverty are strongly influenced by the sense of "relative deprivation" -- many Detroit Latinos probably compare their standard of living to standards in Mexico or Texas, and the Detroit incomes are seen as high. However, as noted above, incomes <u>are</u> in general quite adequate.

<u>2. Main Sources of Income</u>. A fairly complete picture of income sources, and how they are combined, is important to show the extent to which various social welfare income maintenance programs operate to complement earnings and other private incomes. This picture is given in Table 15.

TABLE 15

Combinations Of Income Sources

Income Source		
Earnings from Employment		107
Earnings Only		69
Earnings Plus Public Assistance	9	
Earnings Plus Social Security and Public Assistance	7	
Earnings Plus Social Security	4	
Earnings Plus Social Security and Roomers	2	
Earnings Plus Roomers	8	
Earnings Plus Property Income	5	
Earnings Plus Other Source	3	
Total Earnings Plus Other Source		38
Social Security But Not Earnings		20
Social Security Only		3
Social Security Plus Other Pension	5	
Social Security Plus Public Assistance	3	
Social Security Plus Roomers and Other Pension	5	
Social Security Plus Property Income	2	
Social Security Plus Other Source	2	
Total Social Security Plus Other Sources		17
Public Assistance But No Earnings or Social Security		20
Public Assistance Only		18
Public Assistance Plus Unemployment Compensation Benefits	1	
Public Assistance Plus Child Care	1	
Total Public Assistance Plus Other Sources		2
Unemployment Compensation Only		3
Other Combinations		3

The above data are not totaled because a number of income units are excluded for lack of clear enough information. The point of the table is the great number of combinations of main sources of income and their relative importance. The following points may be noted:

- A minority of families depend solely on employment earnings; but about two thirds have earnings.
- Thirty-two families receive Social Security benefits, but only three of these are dependent solely on Social Security benefits.
- Forty-two families receive Public Assistance, but only 19 are solely dependent on such income.
- An appreciable number of families have roomers -- 15 are reported and this likely is incomplete.

In sum, it is clear that there is a very large scale supplementation of private incomes by incomes from social sources.

3. Suggestions For Services in Income Area. a. As elsewhere noted, there seem to be few if any cases where people are not receiving public income maintenance benefits to which they are entitled.

b. There are a number of work-injured persons who, while apparently receiving all public benefits to which they are entitled, may be entitled to employer or union-sponsored benefit programs. All such cases might be thoroughly checked out.

c. The Latino community services outreach might well focus on the key low-income groups pin-pointed in this study (as well as other studies):

- The families where the breadwinner is sick or disabled and they are living on disability or insurance payments substantially below former earning levels and there is much concern and despair. Help is needed to prevent deterioration in morale and family relationships.

- The AFDC families living alone, without support of extended family relationships.

- Some older and aged people, individuals and couples, living alone, without strong family relationships.

Chapter V

Problems of Children and Youth

1. School Drop-Outs -- Much concern is felt over the excessive school drop-out rate among Latino youth.[7] It is known that low-income neighborhoods have higher drop-out rates than affluent neighborhoods; this trend has been accentuated among Latino youth, and seemed to occur at younger ages, frequently in the early high school years. The drop-out phenomenon is apparently due to differences in language and culture, creating a process of mutual rejection between school and student, so that the Latino often sees the result as a "push-out" rather than drop-out. (However, this theory should not be accepted as the only and "obvious" explanation; there have been other ethnic groups of different language and culture without elevated rates of school drop-out.)

In this study we have attempted to clarify the extent and nature of the problem by correlating data on age, sex, employment, education,

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7. See, for example, Latin American Student Attitudes in Grand Rapids High Schools, a study by La Lucha, sponsored by the Latin American Council for Western Michigan, December, 1971. This study seems to over estimate the extent of drop-out.

and, for females, marriage status. The knowledge, opinions, and feelings of the young people themselves are essential for a full understanding of the subject, but getting such data was far beyond the resources of this study. It would make a useful follow-up inquiry.

We present our data, which are rather complex, in two tables. In the first step of analysis, looking at school status, by age and sex, in Table 16, it can be seen that very early drop-out, in the first or second year of high school, is no longer a problem. No male under age 17 is a drop out; and of the two 15 year old

TABLE 16

School Status, By Age And Sex
Of Latino Youth Age 15-24

	School Status			
	Male		Female	
Age	In School	Not In School	In School	Not In School
15	9		7	2
16	9		9	
17	6	1	8	4
18	4	4	2	5
19	1	7	2	4
20	1	2	1	6
21	2[a]	6[a]		6
22		4		4
23	1	7		3
24		6		5

a. One person counted twice, because attending school and employed full-time.

females not in school, one is already married, and the indication is that both grew up in Mexico and left school there. Of the total group of 25 males through age 17, only one is not in school full time, compared to 6 of the 30 females in this age span.

Looking at the upper end of the age range, since high school graduation age is around 19, we do not expect youth to be in school unless they are attending college, for which the usual age range is 19-22 (or older for those in professional and graduate school). Our data on the school status of older youth is not altogether trustworthy -- there is indication that some of the young people listed here as not in school are actually in college part-time (or even full-time -- one young man both works and goes to college full-time, a practice more common a generation ago). From the data at hand, however, it seems clear that too small a proportion of Latino male youth from C. T. 7 are going to college, and almost no females. Nationally, about 50% of college age youth now start college, including community colleges (although only about 20-25% graduate). While we would not expect such a rate of college attendance in C. T. 7, which represents the lower part of the Latino socio-economic pyramid in Detroit, the actual rate seems unacceptably low.

Table 17 is complex, giving data on several variables simultaneously, but thereby enabling deeper insight into the status of the out-of-school youth. Since there are major differences in the typical careers of the sexes, we consider them separately.

TABLE 17

Educational Achievement Of Out-Of-School Latino Youth, By Age, Sex, Employment Status And, For Females, Marriage Status

		Educational Achievement				
		Male		Female		
Age	Highest Grade Completed	Employed	Unemployed	Employed, Married & Unmarried	Unemployed Married At Home	At Home, No Married, Unemployed
15-16	12					
	9-11					1
	5-8				1	
	0-4					
17-18	12	1	1	1	1	
	9-11	2		1	5	2
	5-8	1				
	0-4					
19-20	Over 12	1				
	12	2				
	9-11	4	2	1	2	
	5-8				2	
	0-4				2	
21-24	Over 12	4		2		
	12	5	1	4	1	1
	9-11	3	3		3	1
	5-8	2			4	
	0-4	1	2		2	
	Not Ascert.	2				

As noted above, the 18 males aged 15-16 are all in school. Of the 15 males 17-18, ten are in school; of the other 5, 4 are working; of these five, 2 have completed high school, and one is indicated as having dropped out of school while in Mexico. There would thus be only two bona fide male drop-outs through age 18.

Of the 37 males 19-24, 5 are in school (college) full-time, and 32 are not in school; of the latter, 24 are employed. Of the 32, 13 have high school education or more, 5 have 6 years or less of school, (and these we believe all left school while still living in Mexico or perhaps Texas), 2 were not ascertained, while 12 left school in the 9-11 grade range. While it is true that we are dealing here not with youth but with a young adult age range, many of whom came to Michigan from other states or countries, and who left school quite a number of years ago for reasons that may no longer pertain, twelve is still a very large proportion not to have completed high school. While they may not be drop-outs or push-outs in the current connotations of those terms, they are a cause for concern and, more important, an opportunity for service.

We should also be interested in the 8 young men, 19-25, who are not in school and not employed. As noted our data here are not complete and it may be that some of these are actually in school or in a training program of some kind. Others may be "between jobs"; we know that some are seeking work. There are

indications that two of these young men are mentally or emotionally disturbed. Altogether, there is an opportunity for service here.

Turning now to the females, it is at once apparent that marriage makes a huge difference in educational status. A much larger proportion of females at all age levels are "drop-outs" in the sense that they have completed fewer grades than the males, but perhaps they should not be regarded as drop-outs in the sense that the schools have been badly remiss in not adjusting to their needs.

It should be noted that of the total 37 females shown in Table 17 as not in school, 23 are "married, unemployed, at home". Of these 23 marrieds, only two have completed their high school work through grade 12, In contrast, 7 of the 9 women who are employed have finished 12 grades or more. Thus we should see marriage as a strong, cultural pull on females, enticing them away from school with all the force of the older traditional family ways in the barrio. In quite a number of cases the young women are married to men ten or 20 years older than themselves, and it appears that the men have gone to Mexico for their brides and have brought them back to Michigan. Thus some of the female drop-outs are girls whose schooling stopped in Mexico, or perhaps was not even available in their villages -- two of the females had no schooling at all.

The fact that forces larger than the school, and outside of its control, may account for the bulk of the female educational

lack provides, again, an opportunity for service. The Latino community should itself accept the responsibility, and not leave it to the schools which cannot have the requisite insights into the ways of the barrio, to seek out these young women, determine the nature of their needs and desires, and design "educational inputs" in ways which fit their lives. Resources to assist in this, of course, may come from the larger society.

Suggestion For Service -- Although the picture is improving, there are large numbers of male and female youths and young adults whose education is too limited. Data from elsewhere in this study show there is a hunger for education among Latinos. We suggest a special, Latino-focused "finish your high school education" project sponsored from within the community but financed with public funds, perhaps as part of a larger education-adult education-leisure time usage program.

2. Social Maladjustment. Judging from the large amounts of delinquency, school drop-out, drug use, aimlessness, emotional disturbance and the like among children and youth, bringing up children to be good citizens and happy people is probably the hardest job that anyone can have. Many parents, in all social classes, know a sense of defeat and failure in the job of "parenting". Because the proper rearing of children is a matter of special concern in the family-centered Latino culture, the misbehavior or unhappiness of a child is likely to be even more agonizing to the parents.

We have sought in this part of the study to do several things: to get some overall view of how parents view their children's growing up and future prospects; what values of life they hold forth to their children; the specific problems that their children have, if any; and what parents know of sources of help for "children in trouble".

The data in Table 18 derive from the following questions asked of parents: We have a special interest in how the children in our community are getting along. Are your children getting along well? How do you feel they are growing up? And: When you think of their future, how do you think they will do in life? It can be seen that over 80% of the respondents (who include a few grandparents) have a strongly positive view of their children's

TABLE 18

Parents' Views On How
Children Are Growing Up

Positive (growing up o.k., doing fine, getting along well, no problems, etc.,)	108
Mixed or Doubtful (some good some bad, etc.,)	14
Negative or Pessimistic (fighting, trouble, etc.,)	6
Vague, Don't Know	1
Not Ascertained	4
	133

present adjustment and future prospects. Although parents may be inclined to an over-optimistic opinion of their children, we believe

the data here are valid, supported by other evidence, and represent heartening news. We wonder if any other segment of American society would have equally positive views.

In discussing their children's up-bringing, many parents mentioned values they stressed in rearing their children; we think the relative frequency of "themes" mentioned is worth reporting:

Education	69
Parental Love and Understanding, Child Taught Love and Respect of Others	23
Discipline and Work Habits	13
Other Values	15

The general questions about children's adjustment were followed by a set of questions to determine whether any children had specific problems ("like trouble in school, or not getting along with other kids, or trouble with the police, or drugs, or unhappy about something?"), and if so the nature of the problem, their knowledge of sources of help and what they had done if anything. Only some 20 families of 133 with children and youth indicated that any children had problems of social maladjustment. This figure agrees with the total of 20 "mixed" and "negative" responses in Table 18 above. In our opinion this is a very low proportion of "children in trouble" for an "inner city" area like C. T. 7.

On the other hand, if there are 20 Latino families in C. T. 7 with one or more children with problems of adjustment, then there are

hundreds (using the ratio found here, 4-500) in the whole Detroit Latino population.

The Kinds of Problems -- Experienced social workers will not be surprised at the kinds of problems reported -- they are typical of what is found every place today:

The teen-age girl from broken family: 15 year old daughter of 33 year old mother, separated, with five children. The girl has a negative attitude, "Wants to be on her own". Her deliquency is not specified, but mother has spoken to the policewoman (probably sex offense) and her "parole officer". Mother has "given up for a while" on seeking help -- she can always call the parole officer (probably probation officer from Juvenile Court)

The social outcast: 13 year old son of 59 year old widow, often gets hurt in school by classmates, and they throw away his books, but the teachers do not intervene. She is afraid he will get on drugs because his classmates offer them. "He is discriminated against because he is Mexican." Mother wants to change school counselor; doesn't know where to go for help.

Youth out of control: 16 year old youth of 46 year old mother, separated, 2 children, on AFDC, living in boarding house, has friends who drink and steal. "I don't think he'll do well in life." Counselor at school suggested she go for help and would like to talk to her but "I have a language difficulty".

Lack of parental supervision: Mother 37, two boys, 13 and 9, both parents work. "The teacher does not teach well to the children, the 9 year old is not learning anything, and so his behavior is bad."

The teacher gave her an appointment to talk, but she didn't go because she cannot afford to miss a work day. The boy is getting "too restless" and has bad manners. She will try to talk with the teacher.

The over-burdened, depressed mother: mother, 38, with 4 children age 6 to 12, all daughters, is afraid to let them out after dark. "They're learning to fight which I don't like. I feel they are going to grow up unladylike. I hope they have a better life than I did." Mother gets depressed, but the only place she knows to get help would be a "mental institution, but I'm not crazy enough for that".

A non-problem case and example of social work: mother reports that her 5 year old is used to home and nursery school and at first refused to adjust to kindergarten but is o.k. now. The interviewer (an experienced social worker who did a few interviews in this study) told her about the L. M. H. T. F. in case she has further questions, and also advised her of "Padres y Educadores de la escuela Webster" and gave her the phone number and explained their services. (This illustrates what a knowledgeable person, acquainted with social resources, can begin to do to help families with problems.)

Many of these children will "get better" even without social intervention, but too many will get further in trouble. It is easy to say "They should be helped", but a service that will really help parents with children in trouble is hard to design, hard to

ask for, hard to give, hard to accept. How often in the past has "talking to the teacher" or to the counselor, or going to the Latino Mental Health Center or to LA SED, really made a difference? One parent when advised to go to an agency for her child asked "Will it help?" She is expressing not so much ignorance as her experience and that of her friends that such help is not easily come by, even when offered. Much of the complaining about teachers and counselors noted in the excerpts above is intended not for the school personnel (who, however, are the ones directly on the firing line, in contact with all the children, and thus the most easily available targets for unhappiness) but at a society which does not seem to be able to help with problems of social maladjustment. Our questions asking if they know of sources for help and had they gone elicited a picture of general ignorance about resources, but also something more important -- even if they knew of "places to go" they often would not have gone because they do not believe it would help.

Suggestion for Service. It is not true that many or most cannot be helped. But a more precise method for reaching and designing an appropriate "treatment" is needed; we have the impression that these people often feel lost in our complex and unsystematic "service system". We recommend that the Latino community run an experimental service under the auspices of some existing Latino agency. It would consist of a small "case committee"

(perhaps three members) of knowledgeable social workers to whose attention would be brought details on all the children in trouble in C. T. 7 as discovered in this survey. This committee would work out a treatment plan that would be more suited to the family and problem than is usually the case, that is, for the 15 year old girl in trouble with the law described above there would not be a routine "referrel for counseling service" but a range of precise actions, including perhaps involvement of a Latino Big Sister, a couse in beauty aids (often girls in sex delinquency have a low self-image), a job or job training for after school, a tutor for school work, participation in boy-girl social programs. And, perhaps most important of all, support for her mother who feels lost and abandoned. Such children should be followed for a number of years to test the effectiveness of service.

Chapter VI

Employment and Work Adjustment

Ours might be called an "employment society". One's job role, and the family status and access to the opportunities of the larger society that follow from the breadwinner's employment, are the major determinants of life in America. It is for work that Chicanos in the past, and still today, come to Detroit. Information concerning it therefore is crucial for an understanding of social service needs.

1. Extent of Employment in C. T. 7. As noted elsewhere our data are derived from interviews in 177 households, but in a number of these we classed the occupants as comprising more than one

"family unit" in an economic sense -- for example, unrelated individuals rooming together were considered separate "families" or family units when assessing income; there are a total of 198 such families. In Table 19 it can be seen that 60 have no one

TABLE 19

Number Of Currently
Employed Persons Per Family

No One	60
One Employed Person	99
Two Employed Persons	26
Three Employed Persons	4
Four Employed Persons	2
One Part-time Person	2
One Full-time Plus One Part-time	1
Two Full-time Plus One Part-time	1
Not Ascertained	3
	198

employed; these would include the retired individuals and couples and people receiving public aid. There is a total of 177 persons employed in all households but as shown elsewhere (Income Status section) only about 69 families depend entirely on earnings for their livelihood. About half of all families have one employed person, usually the male breadwinner, while about one sixth have multiple wage earners.

We have approximately complete data for the employment status of the head-of-family, male and female:

TABLE 20

Employment Status Of Head-Of-Family

Male	
Employed Full-time	112
Unemployed, Looking for Work, Able-bodied	7
Unemployed, Injured or Sick	14
In Training	3
Retired	28
Female (No Spouse Present)	
With Dependent Children, Employed	6
With Dependent Children, Unemployed	17
No Dependent Children, Employed	5
No Dependent Children, Retired	6

Although the number of male unemployed shown above is not a "hard" figure, it is close to the facts, and shows a rate of unemployment of about 6% which is low for the "inner city". Noteworthy is the number of male heads of families who are injured or sick, 14, which, considering just the younger families is a rate of more than one in ten. This is a group which deserves attention; some brief description of them is enlightening:

Age 42, 5 Dependents, work injury, unemployed 2 years

Age -, Sick two months

Age 46, 7 Dependents, sick and unemployed 3 1/2 years

Age 47, Single, disabled

Age 55, Single, disabled

Age 58, Wife and son, sick

Age 44, Disabled, lives with sister's family

Age 23, Psychologically disturbed, lives with own family

Age 56, Disabled

Age 26, Disabled, unmarried, lives with own family

Age 36, Head-of-family, sick

Age 44, Head-of-family, disabled

2. The Current Jobs. Detroit Latinos mostly Chicano in origin, not many generations ago were all farmers, peasants, field hands, villagers. Now that they live in the city, what kind of industries are they in, what occupations do they have? In Table 21 there is shown a rough break-down by "industry", i. e. the main function of the employer. The extraordinary concentration in "heavy industry" manufacturing, production, transport and the like -- is at once apparent; 120 of the 168 for whom we have data are in that category. Next most common is non-governmental service -- gas station attendant, beauty parlor, and the like. Only 8 work for government, which seems exceptionally low. The typical male employment is at Ford, Great Lakes Steel, a construction firm. It is clear why so many have disabling work injuries.

TABLE 21

Latino Employment By Type Of Industry

Heavy Industry (manufacturing, construction, transport)	120
Non Governmental Service (gas station, etc.,)	22
Government (poverty program, education)	8
Commerical (stores)	7
Self-Employed	4
Unemployed	7
	168

The type of occupation or skill used by the worker is shown in Table 22. The skill outline displayed is not atypical for an

TABLE 22

Type Of Work, Occupation, Skill

Laborers (including construction)	72
Operatives (lathe, milling machine, truck dirver)	42
Service Workers	24
Clerical	9
Craftsmen, Foremen, Skilled Trade	6
Sales	4
Domestic in Private Household	1
	160

"inner city" area. However, it is instructive that not one professional person appears in this listing. The Chicanos have much opportunity to improve their employment status in the years ahead.

The seniority of the currently employed, that is, the number of years they have been in their present job, is shown

TABLE 23

Number Of Years On Present Job

Years on Job	
0-1	55
2-3	34
4-5	28
6-9	20
10 or More	30
	167

in Table 23. A third are in their current jobs a year or less, and a little less than a third have 6 or more years seniority. On the whole this is not a high seniority group, which one would expect from the relative recency of the main in-migration of Latinos.

There is a striking degree of satisfaction with the job, as shown in Table 24, where 136, 80% of the total for whom we have information, indicated they are happy with their jobs. Mostly they say, when asked what they like about the job; "Everything",

TABLE 24

Is The Workman Happy With His Job?	
Yes	136
No	17
Mixed	17
	170

and they dislike nothing; but the most frequent specific reason is good pay. The fact that the work is often very hard does not seem to bother them (unless, of course, they are injured), probably because they are comparing it with the even heavier tasks of farm and field -- and the hours are miraculously short compared to the 12 to 14 hours a day that the farm exacts. Very likely, too, the farm-background Chicanos are more productive workers than their city-raised colleagues -- there is substantial evidence showing that people of rural background in at least their first factory generation are more productive workers.[8] In sum, the picture that is sometimes projected of a heavily alienated urban work force, hating their jobs, does not hold for this group of Latinos. They are to be congratulated for their constructive attitude and supported in it.

The data on how they found their current jobs is illuminating for the planning of social services. Table 25 shows that of 160

8. Lebeaux, Charles N., Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954, pp. 82-83.

TABLE 25

How They Found Their Current Jobs

Personal Contacts (friend, relative, told of job)	99
Just Applied (at the gate, without prior information)	44
Through Employment Service or Similar Agency	5
Through School of Training Program Referral	5
Other	7
	160

on whom information is available, almost all got their jobs through personal contacts (i. e., someone knew they were hiring some place) or "just applying". Only 3% got jobs through employment service agencies, and 3% through a job training referral. We consider this finding to be of great importance. It means that the formal employment services supplied by the community while they may be used by people, are not providing an effective service. (See data on use of MESC and LA SED on pages 72-75). It means that there should be a re-study of our "employment service system" to see if it can be used to support the informal, personal contact process through which the great bulk of people find jobs. One should not jump to the conclusion that the present employment service is valueless -- it was never expected that all or the majority of persons would find employment via the public service. Whether the 3% figure

is too low (as it seems to be, especially when combined with information from respondents who failed to get jobs through the service), is a matter for empirical determination. Doubtless The MESC performs important functions other than the procuring of jobs for the unemployed -- simply its existence symbolizes the problem of unemployment. But there may be imaginative ways to improve its effectiveness in job-getting also.

Weekly take-home pay is shown in Table 26. As noted in the Family Income Section, these data are likely to be underestimates, rather than overestimates, of actual income.

TABLE 26

Weekly Take-Home Pay

Under $50 Per Week	14
$51-75	13
76-100	16
101-125	18
126-150	36
151-175	15
176-200	31
201-250	12
251-300	3
301 or More	2
Not Ascertained	10
Total	170

Most of those in the "Under $50" category are part-time, or in a training capacity. If they and the Not Ascertained group are excluded, the median weekly take home pay is about $145. (See Income Status Section for a more complete picture of family income).

Table 27 on unemployment shows a considerable amount of it "in the past year". Included in the unemployed here are those who are ill or disabled, as well as those temporarily unemployed. It is evident that there is a considerable service task to be done here.

TABLE 27

Unemployment In The Past Year	
None	110
Less Than Four Weeks	5
Four-Seven Weeks	8
Eight Weeks or More	46
Worked Part-time for Some Weeks	1
Not Ascertained	3
	173

Although it is a function of all past job experience rather than of the current job, we inquired whether they had ever felt discriminated against in work because they were Latino. We asked this question of retirees as well as those currently in the work force. As is evident from the findings in Table 28 only a

TABLE 28

Number Who Ever Felt Discriminated Against
At Work Or In Finding Work Because Of Being Latino

No, Never Discriminated Against	152
No, But Gives Impression of Reluctance to Discuss	4
Yes	23
Not Ascertained	17
	196

few, 23 out of 196, have ever felt so discriminated against. This, of course, reflects their feelings, not what actually happened. However, it is encouraging information to learn of this positive attitude -- perhaps it reflects the actual employer appreciation of a productive work force.

3. Knowledge and Use of Employment-associated Agencies.

We presented above data on how few of the current jobs were obtained through employment and job training services. But do the working people know of these agencies? Have they ever gone to use them? We obtained data on four agencies: MESC, LA SED in its employment function, the McNamara Skill Center, and the State Vocational Rehabilitation Service. In Table 29 it can be seen that a good majority of the Latino work force in C. T. 7 have used the MESC. However, we should note that in the minds of the respondents this sometimes probably included the Unemployment Compensation branch, even though the question asked whether they had used MESC for "help in finding a job". In any case, for a work force which, as we have

noted above, has relatively little senority because of recency in the city, this shows a large-scale use of MESC. From the table we

TABLE 29

Whether Used And Was Helped
By MESC In Finding Work

Used	
Helped	74
Not Helped	22
Degree of Help N A	5
Total	102
Not Used	
Knew of the Agency	40
Did Not Know of the Agecny	23
Knowledge of Agency N A	5
Total	68

also see that a large proportion have been "helped". Again we must qualify this -- included in the helped category are those who simply said the MESC service "is fine" when asked if they had been helped. Also, some may have been making this response thinking of Unemployment Compensation Benefits rather than Employment Service. Thus, many of the 74 "helped" responses may be a routine positive response rather than a meaningful evaluation of service received.

Of the 68 who had not ever used the MESC, 40 knew of the agency and its service but had had no occasion to use it. The 23 who have

never even heard of it give us cause for wonder and concern. Probably most are recent in-migrants from Mexico -- a group who need help in being directed to available resources. However, this must be done with caution; perhaps some of these are uncertain of their legal status in this country, and may regard it as a dis-service for them to be brought to anyone's attention. But they might be given assistance from within the barrio.

Similar questions were asked regarding LA SED: Have you ever gone to LA SED for help in finding work? We intended the question to elicit responses only on this function, but it was evident from

TABLE 30

Whether Used And Was Helped
By LA SED In Finding Work

Used	
Helped	39
Not Helped	20
Degree of Help N A	3
	62
Not Used	
Knew of the Agency	84
Did Not Know of the Agency	21
Knowledge of Agency N A	1
	106

the responses that many were thinking of other LA SED functions. Here we see that less than a majority have used the agency, as

would be expected for a much less prominent and sizable organization. But one is impressed with the great number who know of the agency even if they have not used it. Only 21 did not know of LA SED. There were a number of negative comments made about both MESC and LA SED, basically because neither was able to be very helpful in finding jobs.

Too recently for widespread knowledge to have circulated in the barrio, despite the considerable effort to publicize it, the State Vocational Rehabilitation office has engaged a Spanish-speaking vocational rehabilitation counselor to work specifically in the Latino area. However, the extent of work injury in the Latino labor force is so noticeable, and the service is of such potential value, that we wished to assess knowledge and use of this service. Out of 166 from whom data were obtained, 142 had never heard of the agency, and of the 24 who had heard of it, only seven had ever used it. One does not expect large use of this agency -- not that many have need of it. But with the constantly broadening function of Vocational Rehabilitation a broader knowledge and use of it should be aimed for. We recommend that the community make extra efforts to help the Vocational Rehabilitation office make its services known.

In connection with an inquiry into the use of the McNamara Skills Center, a series of questions regarding interest in job training was asked. First, for all currently in the work force we asked if they had had any job training. The responses were:

No	147
Yes	22
N A	1

We do not know what proportion of the American work force has had job training, so we cannot say if this finding is high or low -- it appears in the expected range. We then asked if many would like job training now, with results as follows:

No	115
Yes	57
N A	5

There is a large group which does desire such training. These data should be considered in relation to our finding above where a total of only 34 voiced negative or mixed feelings about their current jobs -- evidently there is a more widespread desire for job improvement. Although we have not analyzed the data on types of training desired, generally it represents a shift from unskilled into skilled trades.

Of the 57 who indicated an interest in job training it was then asked if they knew where to go for it:

No	34
Yes	19
N A	4

These findings show an area of needed service -- although some know where to seek job training, the majority do not, and those that

know do not have clear ideas. This is borne out by responses to the next question on a specific agency -- did they know of and had they used the McNamara Skills Center. The responses, again from the 57 interested in training:

No, Did Not Know of It	37
Yes, Did Know of It	
Had Gone to It	5
Had Not Gone to It	11
N A	4

Altogether, our information on employment in the barrio indicate much strength and a good outlook. The most promising avenue for effective service would probably be in the area of job counseling, vocational rehabilitation for the sick and injured, and carefully designed and carried out training programs.

4. The Employment of Women. A number of questions were designed to explore the extent of employment among women, especially those with younger children, and the conditions of child care under which they could work. A general question asking if there was anyone in the family not now working who would like to, elicited 31 yeses, but this includes a number of male unemployed. There were 20 households in which women with children under high school age were working, and 21 households where a woman would like to work if there was a way to care for young children. There is thus available a

considerable expansion of the earning power of the Latino community, if usable means for child care were created or, if they exist, were made better known and accessible to these families. Only a very few mothers seem to know of places to get child care.

This is thus an area of service that needs careful consideration -- to see more specifically what the needs are and how they might be served.

Chapter VII

Health and Health Care Patterns

Charges that local health departments do not provide adequate health care facilites for Latinos are sometimes answered by officials who point out that many people do not utilize existing health facilities available even though they are aware of them. Others contend that the health care needs of Latinos are limited by geograhpic and economic restraints, and that Latinos do not receive good health care or protection if compared to that received by non-Latinos in other parts of metropolitan Detroit.

Such discussions many times occur without adequate and substantial information. Questions such as: Do Latinos really suffer from poor health care because of economic restraints? Should Latinos receive free health care? Who should provide for any free health care; private clinics and doctors, or community clinics? Who should decide where people should go for health care, whether to a community clinic or a private clinic? Should such decisions be left up to the client

or should a service agency be created to assign people to certain clinics and to certain doctors? Questions of this nature which a health planning body must address can be illuminated by data on current medical care usages among the Latino people.

As described in the section on research methods, we have data both from agencies and from the clientele population. Agency data are reported elsewhere, but we note here that two of the community, "free" clinics surveyed provided some health care to Latinos, but the data obtained apply only to users and do not identify non-users.

In our household survey we learned of the following health delivery centers located in or immediately adjacent to the Latino community, within walking distance or reach by at least two bus lines:

Hospitals:

- Del Rey General
- Lincoln Hospital
- Detroit General

Community (Free) Clinics:

- CHASS (Community Health and Social Services)
- Bussey Medical Clinic (Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development)
- Holy Trinity (Cabrini) Clinic

Private (Proprietary) Clinics:

- Cooper and Dash Clinic
- Joseph Clinic
- Lincoln Clinic
- Maybury Industrial Clinic

The community clinics are under social sponsorship (public or philanthropic), staffed by voluntary or salaried doctors, with primary functions of screening, counseling, testing, immunization, general medical and pediatric work. Major medical problems are usually referred to other doctors, clinics or hospitals. The private clinics are run of course as businesses, are essentially a form of group medical practice, and handle most major medical problems as well as screening, testing, immunization and minor medical care. There are also a large number of doctors in solo private practice, serving this population, only a few with offices in the vicinity.

1. Utilization of Health Services. What kind of health care organization do Latinos patronize -- private doctors in solo practice, community clinics, hospital emergency rooms? In Table 31 it can be seen that only 29, 17% of the 177 households for which data

TABLE 31

Type Of Health Care Organization Used

	Number	PerCent
Community (Free) Clinic	29	17
Private (Fee) Clinic	50	28
Do Not Use Clinic	91	52
Totals	177	100

were obtained use community or free clinics, while a much larger group, 28%, use private "clinics". The majority use the service of a physician in private practice, most in solo practice, but some

connected with group practices or hospitals elsewhere.

Whether or not the Latino family goes to a community clinic or to some other group practice, most mention that they "do have a family doctor":

Yes	156
No	19
N A	2
	177

This is important information, for it indicates that people want to identify their medical care with a person, not a faceless agency, even if they will be served by more than one health professional in the agency.

Basically, the CHASS Clinic, the Bussey Medical Clinic, and the Holy Trinity (Cabrini) Clinic are free to the clients. Moreover, with perhaps some qualification for the Bussey Clinic, they do not investigate income or need. Why, it may be asked, do so few of the Latinos use the free services? It is not a simple question, and it is not one we could ask our respondents in this survey. One answer, for some, is that they do not know of these services. Another answer is that many, especially those who are employed, probably believe they are not eligible for free services. And some may feel stigmatized going to free clinics. But perhaps the largest reason is that on the whole service is quicker and more convenient from a private practitioner than it usually is from community clinics, where one may have to wait, be seen by a number of office people, and in general have to "stand in

line" for service. In our society most service is obtained on the private market and people are oriented to using that system, rather than a socialized one. People feel it is a matter of freedom of choice, and this is important to them.

Extent of Use and of Unmet Need -- A true measure of need for medical service requires a screening by medical personnel; however, in this survey we tried to get respondent perceptions of need by asking a series of questions about extent of use. The first question asked how many times family members had been to the doctor in the past three months, with findings as follows:

No Times	45
Once	34
Two or More Times	85
N A	13
	177

About 75% have been to the doctor, half two or more times. Thus the large majority have access to medical care.

To refine this information we then asked if anyone "needed to go to the doctor right now". The responses were:

No	148
Yes	23
Answer Unclear	1
N A	5
	177

From these data it can be seen that there is a relatively small number who at the moment have an "unmet need" for medical care. To clarify the reason for the "unmet need" we asked why the 23 persons who needed medical care hadn't gone for it:

Going Soon, Have An Appointment	18
Lack of Money	4
Not Clear	1

It thus becomes clear that, in the views of the people themselves, almost none who need medical care are blocked from it; in particular there are only four who are reported as not seeking needed care because they cannot pay for it. However, note the discussion below in which we suggest that working class and poor people may have lower expectations for medical care than are objectively warranted, certainly as regards seeking preventive care rather than waiting for a critical stage of illness.

Extent of Health Insurance -- We find a large extent of health insurance coverage among this population, which would follow naturally from the large amount of employment, since this is normally how access is obtained. Of 174 respondents to this question the responses were:

Blue Cross-Blue Shield	80
Other Insurance	48
Medicare	23
Medicaid	23

Medicaid is, of course, not an insurance program in the full sense, but does provide care for those unable otherwise to pay. It is, of course, well known that these insurance do not pay all or even a majority of health care costs.

2. Satisfaction With Medical Care. There is a surprisingly high degree of satisfaction with medical care expressed by this population, certainly higher than one would be likely to find in a middle class group of respondents. As shown in Table 32, 149

TABLE 32

Degree Of Satisfaction With Medical Care	
Satisfied	149
Partially Satisfied	5
Not Satisfied	13
Other	2
N A	7
	176

of 176 respondent households, or about 85 per cent, answered postively to the question: Are you satisfied with the medical care your family gets? How realistic or useful is this information in getting at the question of really needed medical care? We know that people with limited resources, and with limited awareness of deficiencies in their lives, plan to live, including health care, within this limited framework. An expression of satisfaction may in part measure merely trimming of their needs to fit their pocketbooks. If one were to use

a "crisis and preventive health care" continuum, to find out at what point people seek medical assistance, we would find lower income and more affluent people at different points on the continuum, reflecting their feelings of ability to command, rather than their actual need for, medical care.

Recent studies by the Detroit Health Department, however, show a greater number of doctor visits in the poorer areas of the city than in the richer areas, probably reflecting the growth in the last half decade of socially sponsored health care, e. g., Medicaid. Thus it may be that our respondents are reporting not a restricted view of needs, but an objective view of care received. In any case, the finding of satisfaction reported here is important for planning; it will powerfully influence the extent and nature of use of any proposed health services, and the latter should be adjusted accordingly.

3. Use of Doctors in Solo Private Practice. Most Latinos, as most Americans generally, go not to a clinic or hospital for medical care but to a "family doctor", usually in solo private practice. In this survey we asked for the names of doctors used, so that we were able to specify the number of different doctors used, their degree of Latinism, and the location of their offices.

As shown above, 91 of our 177 families went to such doctors rather than to clinics. A remarkably large total of different doctors were used -- 56. Ten of these 56 doctors had Spanish surnames, and these ten doctors served 40% of the 91 families; 60% of the families went to non-Spanish surnamed doctors. Of the families served by the

Spanish-named doctors, however, about 90% that is, about 32 families went to just three of ten. Thus we see that although many doctors are used, there is a concentration in use of a few. Only one of the Spanish-named doctors has an office in the community.

The great range of medical services used by the relatively small Latino population in C. T. 7 suggests to those planning for social health programs that the client population is individualistic in its medical service choices, active in seeking a variety of health personnel, and perhaps not readily led to use of services under social auspices.

Suggestions Regarding Services -- Medical care is a complex field; we can here only suggest implications of the views of medical care that we have elicited in this survey. First, the Latino population evidently does not consider itself ill-served for medical care at present; this illuminates on the one hand the puzzlement expressed by some community leaders as to why there is not greater Latino use of existing community clinics, and on the other hand should be a caution in the minds of those who would expand community clinics in the present framework. Second, it seems to us that this population may not be as well-served as it should be in the medical field, despite its own opinions; in particular, care is not sought at the preventive stage, but rather at the crisis stage. Therefore, a more sophisticated attitude toward medical care is called for, which will call for some type of educational program. Third, as indicated in the Language Section, lack of English is still a

problem for some patients, particularly the aged and recent newcomers from Mexico. These could be aided by a program which would do a job of case-finding of these people and offer a specific service tailored to their needs. Finally, as discussed in other sections, there are a number of men who are sick or job-disabled; they are vocational rehabilitation prospects, but they are also a concern of medicine.

Chapter VIII

Views on Housing

In past years city planners have discussed the future of the area centered around Ambassador Bridge, on Detroit's near Southwest side, in which C. T. 7 is located. This area for many years was the center of the Latino community and remains today the area of highest Latino concentration. In those discussions community leaders voiced concern that the area should be maintained as residential for the people living there and those that might wish to. The City, acting in good faith, supported a community council to study the housing needs of the area and to begin making plans for continued residential use of the area.

Since that date more than ten years have elapsed, during which a section of C. T. 7 has been zoned for light industry and commercial development. The Hubbard Richard Community Council which served as a focal point for meetings and discussions on the residential revitalization of the area has now become little more than an office, with the many maps and charts of the planned housing still tacked to the walls. The Council continues to hold meetings but now few people appear to discuss the plans for low income housing which once excited the Council members. The Council did bring in new housing -- one four unit structure. After that initial building, none followed.

Since then the amount of existing housing has slowly declined. An expressway now cuts C. T. 7 in half. Trucking firms have bought property for use as garages and storage warehouses. Condemned houses have been razed or remain vacant, leaving the area looking blighted and run down. Dispersed among the deteriorated housing can be found some homes which continue to be kept up as well as their age permits. Throughout the area deterioration and decay advance.

1. Satisfaction with Housing. It therefore is occasion for surprise and meditation to find from our survey a very high degree of satisfaction with present housing. We consider this one of the most important findings of this study, for these attitudes will influence whether Latino people will leave or continue to reside in this area, and if they remain there are many implications for social and housing services.

TABLE 33

Satisfaction With Present House	
Satisfied	143
Not Satisfied	24
Mixed	7
Not Ascertained	3
	177

Table 33 shows that 143 respondents -- 81% of the total -- "liked their present house", and 7 had mixed feelings. For a deteriorating area, this is a positive response. Table 34, which includes multiple responses, shows specific reasons for liking their houses. We see that physical aspects of housing are most frequently mentioned, with 69 respondents (40%) mentioning space, convenience, construction, and the like.

TABLE 34

Reasons For Liking Their House

Physical Factor in House:	
Space, Layout, Arrangement, convenience	69
Good Construction, Well-Built, Good Utilities	10
Outside Yard	2
Good Neighborhood or Neighbors (but not ethnic)	49
Location	
In the Barrio, Among Other Latinos, Ethnic Stores	24
Accessibility to Bus, Stores, Job, School	23
Likes "Everthing", No Special Reason Vague	32
Because It Is Single Family Dwelling, Privacy	20
Low Cost	7
Other Reasons	12
Not Ascertained	4

References to "good neighborhood" or "good neighbors" were next in frequency with about 28% of the respondents mentioning it. This aspect of "good neighborhood" is distinct from another aspect which reflects ethnic identity, that is, reference to their houses being in the barrio, near Latino institutions. It may be wondered why a preference for the barrio is so infrequent -- only 24 of a

possible 177 respondents. Doubtless the major reason is that the question as asked refers to house and not to neighborhood. Thus emphasis is placed on the house as a physical entity, and not on the neighborhood around it. Still, there is the suggestion here that, for many, residence in the barrio is not the over-riding consideration in housing -- a good house, a good neighborhood, a single family dwelling may outweigh ethnic contiguity. We also note how few mention "low cost" as a reason, probably because most are unaware of how high housing costs have risen elsewhere and do not perceive the low rents (see below) in C. T. 7 as anything unusual. We note also that

TABLE 35

Reasons For Disliking Their House

Nothing Disliked	87
Physical Factors	
Needs repairs, Bad Construction, Utilities	37
Lack of Space, Inconvenient, Uncomfortable	19
Lacks Yard or Big Enough Yard	4
Bad, Dangerous Neighborhood or Neighbors	17
Other (Near X-Way, etc.,)	13
"Everything", No Special Reasons, Vague	3
High Cost	3
Lacks Privacy, Prefer Single Family Home	2
Not Ascertained	8

no one, either on this question or the following, refers to schooling, the school system, or a specific school.

When the question is reversed, to ask what things are disliked about their houses, the responses corroborate what we have already learned, as shown in Table 35. Fully a half of all who respond say there is nothing they dislike about their houses. This is high praise indeed. The need for repairs and other aspects of physical deterioration are the single biggest reason for dissatisfaction, which would be expected on objective grounds. The only other reason of such frequency is "bad neighborhood", the specific things referred to being breaking and enterings in the neighborhood, rowdiness, too many bars, vandalism, juvenile deliquency, drugs, drinking, and excessive noise.

The above questions focused on the house. Regarding the neighborhood, as distinct from the house, we explored just one aspect, although a very important one -- the matter of personal safety.

Views of Personal Safety in the Neighborhood. -- Three questions were asked on this subject: Whether they thought the neighborhood was safe; if not, their reasons for feeling not safe; and their suggestions for dealing with the problem. Their views on safety in the neighborhood were as follows:

Not Safe	93
Safe	77
Mixed, Vague	9
Not Ascertained	1

It is evident that most Latinos in C. T. 7 do not consider it a safe neighborhood. Their reasons for this opinion were as shown in Table 36. The most frequent response is that they have heard

TABLE 36

Reasons For Saying
The Neighborhood Is Unsafe

Has Heard of Crime in the Neighborhood	48
Personal Experience (self, relatives, friends) With Crime -- Assault, Robbery, Burglary, etc.,	35
References to Drug Addicts, Bars, Alcoholics	16
References to Teenage Delinquency, Rowdiness	13
Other	6
Not Ascertained	1

of crime in the neighborhood; but a strikingly large number report personal direct experience as the victims of crime, in their families or among their friends. Lack of personal safety, therefore, is a crucial factor to deal with in planning for housing services for this population.

When asked what might be done for the problem, most (75) mentioned more police protection; a few (15) placed the blame on parents and schools who should train children better; and a few (11) suggested rehabilitation programs for drug addicts, and the like.

In a further attempt to explore the housing preferences of Latinos in C. T. 7 we asked them: If you were looking for another place to live, what are the main things you would want? This question was worded purposely to allow responses referring to neighborhood, public services etc., rather than simply to the house. As can be seen in Table 37, the highest frequency of response is still to the physical aspects of the house, even though the question permitted a broader perspecitve -- 71 refer to the condition and construction of the house, 53 to space room arrangement and the like, and a much larger number than before make references to the outdoors -- yard, lawn, a place to garden or grow trees. We see here, if opportunity would but allow, the yearning of the farmer and villager so recently from the countryside for the "things of earth". This is indeed something that the housing planner should think about.

A desire for a good neighborhood -- but not the ethnic aspect of it -- is next most pressing; very likely this reflects the fears for personal safety discussed above.

The low number mentioning the barrio, 39, which is less than 25% of all respondents, is again food for thought. Perhaps some

TABLE 37

Important Things To Look For In A Home

Physical Factors	
Condition and Construction of House and Utilities (Well-made, Solid, Warm, New, etc.,)	71
Space, Size, Arrangement of Rooms, Basement	53
Yard, Lawn, Trees, Place to Garden, Outdoors	47
Neighborhood and Neighbors (but not ethnic)	67
Location in the Barrio, Near Latinos	39
Location for Other Reasons (Near job, church, bus)	27
Low Cost	4
Single Family Home Preference	1
Other	19
Not Ascertained	17

do not mention it because they assume residence in the Latino area as something not needing specific mention; perhaps some know that in the extending areas where Latinos are now moving an attenuated Latino atmosphere is available. But mostly, we believe, our data show that Latinos like other groups in the city are primarily concerned with providing good houses and safe neighborhoods for their families, and less with the ethnicity of the neighborhood. And it may be predicted that, economic factors permitting, Latinos will follow a pattern of dispersion to more out-lying areas. But an important planning question remains -- given the continuing

strength of group identity among Latinos and a possible increase in the years ahead, and given the need for the city to retain its vital ethnic groups such as the Latinos, and the general desirability for cultural diversity in the city, would it not be a very good idea to help the large numbers of Latinos who want to reside in the present barrio, and perhaps attract others, by programs of housing rehabilitation, improvement in personal safety, and general neighborhood conservation? Given some assistance, the Latinos of C. T. 7 would pour their very great energies into a revitalization of their area, to the great good of all.

2. Housing Costs in C. T. 7. As suggested in several places above, our data on housing costs to Latinos in C. T. 7 seem to be surprisingly low. Of the 177 households, 54 are buying their homes; 31 of these have their mortgages paid off and have only to lay out housing money for taxes, insurance and upkeep (which, of course, may be substantial). There is a relatively low degree of homeownership, which may be due to the relative recency of the population, and because this area is a "port of entry" for Latinos who are not in immediate position to purchase housing; they typically rent.

The rental payments of the 123 families who rent are shown in Table 38. It can be seen that 110 pay $100 per month or less; only nine pay more than $100 per month for rent. We have in this information some facts which fit in with data already gathered, to wit, the aged state of the housing in this tract, and considerable

deterioration, which accounts at least in part for the low rents; and secondly the high degree of housing satisfaction, which must flow in part from the low rents. All of these elements should be considered in a housing policy.

TABLE 38

Rental Costs In C. T. 7

Costs	Number of Households
$0-25	1
26-50	11
51-75	30
76-100	68
101-125	8
126-150	1
Over $150	0
Not Ascertained	2
Total	123

3. Discrimination in Housing. Very few report any experience of racial discrimination in seeking housing. Asked if they had encountered any they responded:

No	155
No, But Had Never Looked Outside the Barrio	3
Yes	16
Not Ascertained	3

However, of the 16 who reported discrimination, about half were talking about things like "too many children", rather than racial rejection, as illustrated by this response to the query:

> Only once. Went to a house with a real estate man, who said they were anxious to sell. When they saw a Latino family, they told the real estate man they would not sell to Mexicans.

We did not find out when these acts occurred, and they may have been long ago. Altogether, there is not a substantial history, or an accompanying attitude, of racial discrimination in housing in this population; but this would in some small part at least probably be just because they have restricted their housing choices in or close to the barrio.

4. Knowledge and Use of Housing Agencies. Remarkably little knowledge, contact, or use of housing agencies and programs is demonstrated in this population; nor is much need for help in housing expressed. Asked if they feel a need for help with housing, only 16 say they do, out of our 177 households. Asked if they know of any agencies or people to get help with housing if they needed it, 2 say they do and have gone for assistance, and 2 say they know of

sources but have not sought help. Five report contact with the Detroit Housing Commission, but none have ever applied for or lived in public housing. And only two have had any contact with any other government housing programs, such a FHA, or Section 235 and 236 (but probably some of the home buyers have bought with FHA insured mortgages). And only 8 have had any contact with the Hubbard Richard Community Council which is near to the area. We should not be surprised at these responses -- they are fairly typical of Americans generally.

Suggestions -- There are so many advantages for Latinos to live in this area, and in similar areas of the barrio -- the low rents, their sense of belonging, the presence of the Chicano institutions, its convenience for work, and the like -- that it would seem a good plan, if at all possible, to provide through social auspices the means and encouragement for the neighborhood to be stabilized. This would require first a well-administered program of rehabilitation aids, both for home owners and landlords, designed to promote the use o f "sweat equity" in the rehabilitation work -- the Latinos are an energetic and able group, with construction know-how and a desire to create capital through home ownership; second, a program to carefully raze unreclaimable houses and rebuild with new; third, some protection for the neighborhood against the total take-over by commercial and industrial interests (but not a total prohibition since these are also a source of jobs); and finally some thoughtful and effective measures to make the neighborhood safe.